

Pulled to Diversify
Confronting poverty through the beadwork identity
of the Durban Rickshaw Pullers.

By Rowan Gatfield

Introduction

‘Someone awoken from a 20-year coma would surely find twenty-first century South Africa unrecognisable’ with the impression of an economy which had sufficiently recovered since the fall of apartheid. Although important social improvements are being made such as access to schooling and healthcare, and the provision of water and sanitation, this is not the case. Efforts to change the lives of South Africans for the better, are instead being thwarted by various hindrances, some of which are based on ‘legacies of history, some stem from specific policy choices’, while others are more directly a consequence of failed systems and mismanagement ¹. The author’s observations published in 2012, still bear gravitas in this article situated around the partial failure of well-intentioned or uncreative tourism approaches in KZN, to alleviate the poverty of informal traders along Durban’s Golden Mile in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

It is common knowledge that significant differences in poverty levels exist between population groups in South Africa. In terms of poverty share, 64.2% of this is attributed to the black population ². When travelling through the rural hinterlands or informal settlements surrounding South African cities, abject poverty is still very apparent. The tourist mecca of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal province, known for its warm waters, pristine beaches, and rows of five-star beachfront hotels is one such example.

Between 2011- 2015, visits to KwaNyuswa, a peri-urban region, 30 kilometers outside of Durban, were conducted to identify and document craft economies amongst poor black inhabitants. The study revealed a community ‘on its knees’, struggling to return from its economic segregation from the City during apartheid ³. This struggle includes its ‘return’ to the Durban tourism economy which now appears to be experiencing an increase in international visitation.

Between 2012 and 2019 King Shaka Airport reflected a 46% increase in international visitation compared with Cape Town International Airport who showed a 57.3% growth, ⁴ resulting in 11.3 % less growth for KZN. Of the various provinces in South Africa KZN has been identified as one of the least likely destinations for domestic tourism in the country next to the North West, Northern Cape and the Free State ⁵. The reasons for KZN’s poor national performance is not revealed in the cited reports, however an examination of KZN’s tourism approach is revealing.

In 1992 South African anthropologist and historian Carolyn Hamilton identified that Zulu ethnic tourism - the consumption of ‘Zulu’ history and culture had been ‘actively marketed for much of the twentieth century’ and had formed part of the growing international commodification of African culture. The author pointed out that such forms of commodification were during the 80s and 90s particularly active at KZN tourism ‘hot spots’, where history, ‘ethnic identity and notions of tradition

and culture' were being actively manufactured ⁶. The use of the 'Zulu' label was an intrinsic aspect of this manufacture, now evident through its ongoing use by Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, whose slogan 'Zulu Kingdom, exceptional', established in the early 2000s ⁷, cemented the province's ethnic-tourism approach.

By its construction the phrase implies to tourists, that a single Zulu identity exists, within an all-encompassing 'Kingdom' of KwaZulu-Natal. In this way indigenous ethnicity within KZN has been delimited and conceptually 'packaged' for tour operators and tourists. For example, the South African tour operator Safari 365 ⁸ details that:

The Zulu-Kingdom is...worthy of a visit because of its unique cultural significance. Once led by the legendary Shaka Zulu, the way of life and proud traditions of the Zulu nation have been largely preserved on this ancestral land. Greeted by spear-wielding warriors and traditional Zulu dancers, visitors will have the opportunity to get a glimpse of South Africa's ancient cultures and traditions.

In this way, identity and culture intersect as a 'collective subjectivity and as an "ethnicity"' ⁹ - a term which, by its definition, implies 'an assumed state - an unchallenged belonging to a social group with common national or cultural tradition'¹⁰. This 'state' and 'belonging' is therefore implied, and thus assumed. What is also implied is that the 'Zulu' are 'frozen in time', as 'spear-wielding warriors' and 'traditional-dancers'.

In reality, this *Safari 365* excerpt is indicative of the broader KZN tourism operator rhetoric - which often capitalises on the ethnicity 'assumption' by tourists who, quite likely, understand the contradictions of modernity and globalisation - that, what is being purchased is in reality, temporary, acted out, staged, largely inauthentic and most often the only recourse (of income) for the actors. This self-consciousness by tourists and tour operators is:

'underscored, made undeniably poignant, by an all-too-concrete reality: that in many desperately poor parts of the world, the attenuation of other modes of ...income has left the sale of cultural products and of the simulacra of ethnicized selfhood' as the only viable means of survival ¹¹.

This study is thus situated around this unfortunate inevitability of poverty. During empirical research, conducted along Durban's Beachfront in 2011, while observing tourist interactions, it became apparent that authenticity in the form of 'Zulu' cultural products, was being actively sought out and then 'realised', or reinforced, during sales pitches by beadworkers and rickshaw pullers. The 'value' created in this intersection is the result of 'a deep ambivalence in modern life: a sense of 'exile' from "authentic" otherness - albeit in consumable form'¹².

The pursuit and delivery of 'Zulu authenticity' is, therefore, the desired result of the now, well-worn 'Zulu Kingdom' approach which, in comparison to Cape Town, is failing to show meaningful comparative (inter-provincial) growth or to drive new forms of attraction to the

province. By extension, expectations for informal traders within the Durban tourism industry to rise above their circumstances, seems unlikely. The World Tourism Organisation ¹³ articulates this concern:

Tourism is very sensitive to economic...and socio-political events affecting tourist's willingness to travel. In the absence of insurance cover and social security, the poor can be particularly vulnerable to sudden downswings in demand.

This said, a clear value in the 'Zulu' marketing approach still remains: in 2018, 'spending by...visitors in and to KwaZulu- Natal was estimated to be R5bn'. In the same year hotel occupancy in Durban was at 64,2 %. Tourism in the province is estimated to have translated into 123 348 jobs in 2018 either directly or indirectly, ¹⁴ pointing to the possibility of micro-economies such as bead-working and rickshaw pulling benefitting from this large spend.

Given that tourism is still a viable means to alleviate poverty, there is a pressing need to understand why the 'Zulu' brand positioning is failing to compete nationally, that is of course, if those driving this approach are willing to acknowledge that the 'Zulu' branding or 'Zuluness' approach is indeed failing. Quite recently it was proposed that, 'the "zuluness" factor...can be used by the Zulu Kingdom to foster its clear value position or unique brand essence in the global tourism marketplace'¹⁵.

By 'Zuluness' it appears that the author is referring to:

The societal attitudes and values in the Zulu Kingdom, such as the concept of *Ubuntu* – the spirit of humanity, respect for strangers and the elderly; and the energetic and colourful dances of the Zulus are pivots of the Zulu nation's identity which distinguish the people of KwaZulu-Natal from the rest of South Africans.

Here, the phrases 'the Zulus' and 'Zulu Nation' perpetuate the idea of the singular polity which 'distinguish' from and thus seemingly represents 'all' indigenes within KwaZulu-Natal. The origins and problematic nature of such ongoing identity reification are illuminated when considering Durban's Tourism history.

Since the rise of the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka in the 1790s and early 1800s, cultural differences amongst smaller Nguni chiefdoms were either effaced or preserved within the kingdom. After the defeat of the Zulu Kingdom in 1879 by the British, the term *Zulu* seized hold as colonial shortening for the groupings amalgamated into the kingdom ¹⁶.

In 1902, Durban boosters targeting British tourists employed the concept of 'local colour' (the supposedly unique customs, manner of speech, dress, or special features of its inhabitants) or, in other words, 'inhabitants of colour', 'no different in the minds of promoters, to the value of Venetian gondoliers or London cockneys in promoting a destination' ¹⁷. Local colour made reference to the isiZulu speaking ethnic majority in Natal Colony, whom together with an emphasis on Durban's British modernity, helped immigrant boosters construct a Durban identity ¹⁸.

By 1906 many Natal Africans had adopted the Zulu identity, ‘whereas they had not been before’, selecting to fight against the British on the side of the Zulu King ¹⁹. This identity assimilation repeated itself, during ethnically framed labour conflicts in Johannesburg, where ‘divide and rule’ tactics by white employers fomented a Zulu ethno-genesis for workers from disparate Natal ethnic groupings ²⁰.

After winning the general election in 1948 the National Party went on to implement the *Group Areas Act* (1950) and *Separate Amenities Act* (1953) ²¹, where the best beaches, hotels, and tourist attractions were reserved for the exclusive use of whites. Tourist-related products were developed on a significant scale along the ‘Golden Mile’ from the 1950s to the 1970s, culminating in significant investment by the Durban City Council in the early 1980s ²².

By the 1960s internationally screened films such as *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979), as well as nationally televised series such as *Shaka Zulu* (1986), meant that the Zulu identity, aesthetic, and Shaka warrior stereotype was being internationally circulated. What transpired was a process of turning the Zulu legacy and ‘Shaka icon’ into a tourism commodity ²³. This materialised in Protea Hotel’s Shakaland in 1988 ²⁴ but, as indicated, was cemented through the marketing tagline that framed the region to tourists as ‘The Kingdom of the Zulu’ in the 1990s. This was followed by the naming of the beachfront UShaka Marine World in 2004, and King Shaka Airport in 2011. To reiterate, these respective developments are this based on an ongoing assumption, that every black person in Durban is ‘culturally connected to a tribe ²⁵’. In this instance the ‘Zulu tribe’ and the trinkets for sale are, therefore, seen by tourists as the “real thing” - authentic ‘Zulu’ artifacts made by ‘Zulu’ beadworkers ²⁶.



Figure 1: The multicoloured isinyolovane style showing its coloured dotting on a black field. Photos: Rowan Gatfield. Reproduced (from left to right) by kind permission from Zamuntu Majola; KwaZulu- Natal Museum Collections; Ugabasile Phewa; and KwaZulu-Natal Museum Collections.

However, the view that all beadwork or rickshaw pulling in KZN is exclusively ‘Zulu’, is not necessarily the view of hinterland beadworkers or the rickshaw pullers, despite their use of the popular term as a sales tool. For example KwaNyuswa region, where many of the Ngcobo and Nyuswa reside, still has its particular *isinyolovane* style (Fig.1) made by the same women who produce a style for sale to tourists referred to as *isimodeni* (Fig. 2), or the modern style ²⁷. During field research in KwaNyuswa it was revealed that many beadworkers did not exclusively identify themselves as ‘Zulu’; but also as Qadi, Nyuswa, Shangase or Ngcobo ²⁷ despite historic attempts at Zulu ethnic homogeneity.

Scholarship interrogating this homogenisation process has confronted the stereotype of King Shaka Sezangakhona Zulu, and the nature, legitimacy of his legacy, his role and his effect through *Mfecane* – (by confronting the extent of his hegemonic appropriation of smaller polities and their territories). *Mfecane* has been a significant aspect of the position underpinning past claims by

current King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to various forms of geographic sovereignty within the KwaZulu-Natal region ²⁸.

Scholarship extends to also confronting 'Zulu-ness' or 'Zulu-ization' – the essentialising, ethnic conflation and identity assimilation behind the 'Zulu identity'²⁹. The term's use has been described as a monolithic characterisation of black people in KZN, by intentionally disregarding the complexities of other residual identities³⁰. In this way, whoever wields the Zulu label controls the political history of the region ³¹. Such attempts culminated in an ideological and physical split between isiZulu speakers, with many feeling that their idea of being Zulu did not align with Zulu Nationalism and the agendas of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) ³².

'Zuluness' (as the disregard for other identities) therefore, represents much more than the goodwill or cultural distinctiveness of black people in KZN ³³. Instead its continued use raises a number of ethical and economic concerns. Firstly, its publicly unqualified (uncontextualized) use perpetuates this history of control and manipulation. Secondly, it has the potential to misrepresent certain individuals (trading within the various tourism micro-economies across the province) who are unwilling to be seen as, or their offering being marketed as, 'Zulu'. Thirdly, there is sufficient evidence to suggest (in tourism visitation statistics) that the current marketing approach needs revisiting, if it is to effectively alleviate poverty.

This article is thus concerned with isiZulu speaking individuals, who live outside of Durban in peri-urban or rural areas, who access tourism economies in the region and thus rely on the marketing approach of the region. It examines how informal traders along the 'Mile' particularly rickshaw pullers, but subsequently beadworkers, might improve their access to ethnic-tourism economies. This enquiry is thus positioned as an exploration of the material culture (particularly beadwork) and related ethnographies in the KZN region.

If, as in Nkosi's view, 'Zuluness' is the brand essence for the province, then this study is an investigation into brand diversification - by examining if other 'ethnic-tourism offerings might sit alongside the 'Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional' brand equity. As established, 'Zulu' brand equity represents fiscal value ³⁴, but also perceptive value. Equity is also derived from heritage value, linked in this instance, through film to the histories of the Anglo-Zulu battles and the distinctive 'warrior' motif.

'If tourists experience meaningful connection, through identifying with cultural values and by creating congruence between their cultural orientation (assumptions) and the destination brand, they will be more likely to revisit.' These respective aspects thus represent a competitive advantage and long-term profitability ³⁵ over other ethnic tourism offerings elsewhere in the country and in the world. This advantage extends to another form of equity surrounding the 'Zulu' brand - namely cultural distinctiveness (derived from material cultural representations), perceived as 'colourful exotica' and 'authentic otherness' ³⁶, most often consumed by tourists photographically.

This visual equity is described as intrinsic to the 'Tourist Gaze' ³⁷, given that for a tourist, a photographic image transcribes reality, evidences where one was, how far one has travelled, and the changing contexts that one's life was anchored to in that moment ³⁸. Besides the rickshaw ride, which involves being drawn, and then carefully "thrown about" in one's seat by a human puller, it is

the “keepsake” photograph that follows, that is of significance. This photograph is not only intrinsic to the puller’s business – as an additional income, it also becomes a means for the tourist to transport the moment and ‘visual experience’.

Human “objects” of fascination are thus implicated with tourism package products....Yet, in order for these products to be effective economically, it is necessary that the tourist’s gaze is not impeded by the offerings of infrastructure. The tourist’s gaze, upon the object of fascination, is therefore the ‘sacred offering’ sometimes, purposefully contrived to stimulate the capturing of memories ³⁹.

Thus, in the first section I examine the identity assumptions made about the ‘multicoloured Zuluness’ of the Durban Rickshaw Pullers who, over a 123 year period, have capitalised on identity assumptions made by tourists surrounding the ‘Zulu’ authenticity of their flamboyant ‘pseudo traditional’ paraphernalia and cart decoration, interviews with Rickshaw pullers supports this examination. In the second section it considers the history of the service but also the development of their aesthetic. In the third section the study turns to examining the ‘diversification in the details’ within the pervasive multi-colouredness of the pullers outfits and within beadwork of the province. The study illuminates how beadwork specimens, gathered in KwaZulu-Natal archives and through visits to rural and peri-urban regions in KZN, represent regional stylistic typologies. Finally, in the fourth section, I describe a consultative process of design anthropology in which I, and my Graphic Design students from Durban University of Technology, restored two Durban Rickshaws and puller’s outfits with an aim of testing an emergent brand diversification premise based on regional or group beadwork design systems.

Multi-coloured Zuluness

Like most privileged ‘white’ children in Durban, I enjoyed access to pristine sites along the KZN coast. On the North and South Coasts, and on Durban’s Beachfront, where I encountered the Durban Rickshaw pullers and an array of street vendors selling beadwork. These were immediately linked to the histories taught to me at school about the Zulu, in which an assumption was facilitated: about the Zulu authenticity of the beadwork and the rickshaws I encountered. Never once in my 50 years as a Durbanite or as a Graphic Designer, did I question that the identity and beadwork of those within the province was anything other than Zulu. To this day, I believe that this is still a general public consensus.

In 2011, with a view of understanding the beadwork offering for sale to tourists, as part of a PhD study in Anthropology ⁴⁰. I revisited these coastal sites in order to interview beadwork retailers in places such as Amanzimtoti, Scottburgh and Port Shepstone, along the North Coast at, Umhlanga Rocks, and inland to tourist sites in Eshowe. I also made numerous visits to the ‘Golden Mile’. During these visits I engaged with craftswomen, vendors, and rickshaw pullers in the form of unstructured interviews. The aim was to understand the identity and origins of the beadwork encountered, to establish if it represented anything other than ‘Zulu’. All those I interviewed were unanimous: that the beadwork being sold and ‘consumed’ was purely ‘Zulu’ in origin.

Initially, I resolved myself to the fact, that these informants either sincerely believed this or were ‘playing’ to my potential as a tourist - intent on buying an authentic ‘Zulu’ artefact, or paying for the opportunity to capture a photograph of myself alongside what I (the tourist) might assume to be an authentic ‘Zulu’ rickshaw puller.

Search the word ‘Zulu’ online and its fairly easy to see why tourists arrive primed to assume that most black people wearing or selling beadwork in KZN are Zulu. As discussed, it is widely publicised that there is a Zulu monarch and Zulu traditions in which ‘Zulu’ ceremonial beadwork is worn. Such perceptions have, therefore, stuck through years of public reinforcement. By extension, therefore, references to the ‘Zulu’ rickshaw service as ‘run by the Zulu’ and that rickshaws have been ‘incorporated into their culture’⁴⁰ perpetuate the identity assumption. This assumption is compounded by these vendors, speaking isiZulu, and following similar cultural practices while operating alongside tourism vendors who construct ‘Zulu’ themed spaces such as the UShaka Marine World, owned by the City of Durban⁴². Outside the Water park you are mostly likely to find the Durban Rickshaw pullers dressed in beadwork and multicoloured headdresses. Inside the UShaka Marine World curio shops, as well as nearby (along the Golden Mile) beadworker-owned stalls stock, a very similar multicoloured product. In all instances (within UShaka Marine World curio shops, in beaded trinkets and in the rickshaws outfits and carts, a multi-coloured style was evident, referred to by beadworkers as *isimodeni*⁴³ or the modern style, identified by its large colourful triangles often with a black beaded line separating each triangle from the next. This research⁴⁴ established that:

From 1968 onward, hinterland beadworkers officially entered Durban’s beachfront economy. Pressed to survive in Durban’s racially stratified environment, they took influence from the successful approaches of rickshaw pullers who had modified their traditional aesthetic to better serve constructed mental representations of Zuluness to an affluent white audience. Further, by responding to the demands of white tourists and development agents (selling beadwork), these beadworkers, hampered by their ability to describe and defend the true meaning of their offerings, renegotiated the traditional *isinyolovane* (Fig. 1), by taking influence from the triangular Nongoma Style to form the *isimodeni* Style (Fig. 2).



Figure 2: Left to right: The *isimodeni* style reflected in Ushaka’s interior, in beadwork for sale, and in the rickshaw pullers horns (Photographs and illustration Rowan Gatfield 2011)

This triangular pattern is also reflected in UShaka's decorated interior (Fig. 2). Thus, the various offerings in Ushaka, amongst the pullers outfits and carts, and along the Mile, are largely, visually indistinguishable from each other. What was thus established was that the *isimodeni* style is perceived by beadworkers and many black people in the country as a symbol of modernity or as a new fashion. Yet what was also evident was that an assumption remained, that *isimodeni* was assumed by tourists to be authentic 'Zulu' material culture, an assumption linked to the 'Kingdom of the Zulu' marketing approach. In 2014 a *KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Product Development Strategy*⁴⁵, offered that there is a lack of substance in the 'Kingdom of the Zulu' approach:

The ultimate success of a brand depends upon the reputation that the brand has....KwaZulu-Natal has a reputation that has suffered at the hands of a variety of largely uncontrollable internal and external factors, like crime, grime, violence, HIV/Aids, and tardy infrastructure'. The article goes on to suggest that this reputation needs to be clarified and changed positively wherever possible.

The diminishing value of this brand could, therefore, be attributed to the state of the environment surrounding the tourism offerings; the commodified nature of what is on offer, but most significantly, the saturation of the marketplace with the *isimodeni style* in: tourist souvenirs; in *Ushaka*, but also amongst the rickshaw pullers. The difficulty with this arrangement is in the limited choice for tourists of assumed 'traditional' artefact alongside other contemporary offerings such as amusement parks, beach towels, buckets and spades on offer.

In an ethnic tourism milieu the limited choice of what is made available as authentic 'tradition' for sale, results in 'market saturation'. Scholarship on tourism souvenirs has highlighted this phenomenon, noting that it is the 'underlying perceptions of traditions as the foundation for decision making' that affects goods chosen for the tourist consumer⁴⁶. Thus, whoever controls the conceptual representations of 'tradition' controls the production of cultural objects for consumption, in corporate settings, where makers are encouraged, to 'synthesise local heterogeneity with other cultural phenomena to produce distinctive, homogenised products. This is referred to as 'glocalisation' where global demand affects local production⁴⁷. However, in such spaces transformation can also occur 'where fresh ideas from other cultures are favoured' and where the local culture' (in this instance 'Zulu' culture) may be abandoned (or modified) in favour of alternatives. This points to a likelihood the tourists are discerning and may wish to seek out other forms of 'traditional authenticity'.



Figure 3: Damaged and worn carts and outfits of the Durban Rickshaws. The images reflect the beadwork of the Usuthu region (black, blue, red, white) and the Mandlakazi (black, red, green, white). Courtesy William Sibiya. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2011.



Figure 4: Nongoma style Rickshaw dress, bearing Mandlakazi (red, black, green and white) and Usuthu beadwork (red, black, white and blue, sometimes with green added). Courtesy of Phansi Museum, Glenwood Durban. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2012.

A potential for ‘alternatives’ emerged in 2015 while interviewing rickshaw pullers. I happened to have a copy of the version of the publication ‘Durban’⁴⁸ produced in 1977 for tourists. This copy featuring a rickshaw puller on the cover. A respondent puller, William Sibiya explained:

Ah yes, this man is my Uncle, and I still have his rickshaw. We are all from Nongoma here, and my family is from KwaNongoma region, in the Mandlakazi district. You can see my beadwork is from this region.

At first glance it was overwhelming evident that the management of equity derived from the Zulu Brand was not reaching the Pullers. Carts and Puller outfits were in tatters. Interviews with the Ethekewini municipal overseers of the rickshaws, revealed that the 'hand to mouth' existence of the pullers was fairly 'outside of their ambit' of oversight. When describing them a respondent replied,

They are out of control. They are wild, cowboys.

They just do their own thing! We have no control over them!

Thus, the men maintained a level of independence from the Unit. The interview revealed why, when questioned about their income, that the eThekweni municipal staff were unable to estimate their income or the nature of their traditional origins, besides them hailing from Northern KwaZulu-Natal.

In 2010 I attended a forum for Beachfront Hotels and Residents (mostly Indian and White people) where I facilitated an open conversation about the Rickshaws. This revealed that few understood the pullers's origins or legacy. It was also indicated that while they support the rickshaw service in principle, it was felt that the carts and pullers' outfits were in an unacceptable state to be offered as a service to their clients. Arguably, if the standard of the service was addressed, then the rickshaw service could complement the 'Kingdom of the Zulu' tourist strategy, to which many of the hoteliers naturally subscribe.

On one hand this collective disjuncture is likely a consequence of South Africa's past in which a distance was maintained: between rich and poor; between black and white and between the tourist's gaze and the objects of the gaze ⁴⁹ Language is another significant barrier. Most of the men speak only sufficient English to string together their sales pitch. This divide is illustrated in a 2004 newspaper article ⁵⁰ on Durban:

Like oversized pull toys, the colourful rickshaws now align the curb. I am drawn from my aerial perch down to the street, to chat with the drivers, learn of their lives, take in their convergent wisdoms. My isiZulu is non-existent. But surely we have English in common - this is South Africa, after all. ... None of the drivers will talk or pose for a photo without first determining a price. We begin negotiations, and more drivers gather like a flock of colourful birds; their colourfully patterned costumes only partially conceal their tattered street clothes. They will give me their stories and pose for 600 Rand. Trapped in my tourist persona, my dreams of an open dialogue - of one of these gents being a frustrated memoirist itching to tell his tale are naive. We agree on a price: twice the usual fee charged for a brief ride along the beachfront. I am seduced by their visual spectacle and reduced to paying for snapshots, and as I dispense Rands to each driver, I know nothing of their lives.

Although Durban beachfront is now attracting more African tourists, the space continues as a social 'microcosm' in which unequal power relations persist. The contrast between 5 star hotel guest passengers and near starving pullers, is a sobering reminder that poverty alleviation strategies in the Durban Tourism sector are failing, given that the rickshaws, passed from generation to generation, have operated in this region for 127 years and yet, still appear to be largely unsupported by hoteliers and City managers. In 2013 an interview with a rickshaw owner and puller Baba Ndwandwe revealed that a paradox existed:

The Hotels say they would support us if we had a more professional operation and if our carts looked good, with nice seats, wheels and better shock absorbers, but we are broke. The Ethekwini charge us a monthly fee, to store our vehicles but do not help us in any other way. The Metro police also do not like us here. They suggest we must have a Certificate of Roadworthiness (COR). I mean come on! We are like invisible.

This public 'invisibility' of the rickshaw puller's legacy, but also the identities behind their visual uniqueness thus emerges for consideration. A unique quality of the rickshaw puller, besides his flamboyant pulling style, based on the 'rocking' or, rather, the jogging of seated passengers up and down, is their somewhat anomalous appearance and service offering.

History of the Durban Rickshaw Puller's

It is explained that the first 'Rickshas'⁵¹, also spelt as 'Rickshaws', were imported from Japan into the early Natal Province by a pioneer of the Natal sugar industry, Sir Marshall Campbell, in 1892.⁵² The Rickshaw pullers occupied an anomalous position within Durban's labour market, not being employed by business entities or the Durban Corporation. Instead they were 'freelance' operators, renting the carts (see Fig. 5, 6, 7 & 8) from white entrepreneurs⁵³. This offered certain advantages over other forms of labour. For some, this advantage translated into a measure of creative freedom around the manner in which to adorn oneself and one's cart. An early picture (Fig. 5) of Rickshaw pullers adorned with *uphondo*, cow horns, presents a potential irony regarding the reduction of these men to the position of beasts of burden. However, Lawrence Mduduzo, a Durban Rickshaw Puller, whom I interviewed in 2012, explained that:

The wearing of *uphondo*, still practiced today, is a statement of equity and power. The puller is identifying with the bull and its power, ferocity and ability to pull something as difficult as a plough.



Figure 5: Rickshaw pullers in 1930's in Durban, adorned with *uphondo* or cow horns.

Courtesy of Campbell collections, UKZN, Durban 2015

Some pullers also believed that the horns would bring them good fortune⁵³, given that cattle are broadly viewed as sacred by Zulus⁵⁵.

Each rickshaw puller was required by the city authorities to wear a uniform (Fig.8) . This consisted of a two-piece garment which would come to be known as the 'kitchen boy suit'⁵⁶ (Fig. 8 & 9), and which was worn by many other Black African workers. By 1902, over two thousand rickshaws thronged the streets (Fig. 6) of Durban, with over twenty-four thousand men registered as pullers⁵⁷ Despite the cultural impositions of colonial rule, these men, influenced by their culture, and spurred by the need to attract customers, began to adorn themselves in what must have been seen at the time as a flamboyant manner. Pullers began to modify the "suit", sewing in extra rows of braid around the knee of the trouser⁵⁸ dressed their hair in a traditional manner and painted their legs with whitewash (Fig. 5), apparently in a manner that imitated the knitted patterns of white school socks worn by local schoolgirls⁵⁹. They wore feathered tufts, as headdresses, (Fig. 9), are called *isiyaya*⁶⁰. Later, pullers individualised their new attire by wearing bangles of plaited reeds, with seeds, which rattled. Fierce competition developed among the pullers to design the most original and elaborate costumes⁶¹, pointing to the success of this approach in the ability to lure customers. When asked about the role of the headdress, another puller (name withheld at request), a third-generation rickshaw puller, explained that:

The tradition of wearing headdresses and decorating oneself and one's rickshaw, although inspired by our culture, is in no way a specific representation of Zulu culture but is rather a means to attract customers. They believe it is Zulu, so we just go with it.

Again, the connection made between the wearer's costume, and its claimed authenticity as being definitively (though generically) 'Zulu', emerges largely as an unconsidered assumption made by

tourists. These outfits are ‘in some ways a version of eclectic exoticism, with its references to a rural homestead economy’ (ie. the hunt, intricate beadwork and regimental/militaristic feathers and skins)...‘constructed in an assemblage that would have been unthinkable outside the urban leisure milieu of Durban’ ⁶². Therefore, these visual constructions ‘played’ to a flourishing perception of ‘Zuluness’ portrayed by travel writers, on television and in films.

By 1980, only ten rickshaws remained in Durban, and all were in poor condition. The Durban Publicity Association decided to intervene by building four new rickshaws, and by taking the pullers ‘under their wing’ ⁶³. By 1995, the rickshaw culture was already passing into the realm of ‘heritage’ when representatives from the Gallery Ezakwantu, who describe themselves as purveyors of ‘Central, Eastern and Southern African Tribal Art’ ⁶⁴ visited Durban to purchase the pullers’ outfits and headdresses.

It is common knowledge that during the 1980s and 90s, South Africa was subjected to economic embargos and advanced forms of civil unrest, and was by no means a popular tourist destination, placing the rickshaws in a vulnerable economic position. From the photographs presented on the Gallery Ezakwantu website ⁶⁵ it is apparent that an estimated six of the apparent remaining ten headdresses were purchased, leaving the pullers without a means to generate an income, except to perhaps begin to rebuild their outfits.

In 2012 interviews with the pullers revealed that: 25 rickshaws remain and are managed by the Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit of eThekweni Municipality, in Marine Parade Street, Durban. Prior to Durban hosting the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup, the carts were taken to municipal workshops and modified, this refresh facilitated some trade, but since then the men indicated that they only achieve an average annual income of R 21.000 or around 1400 US Dollars.

Now, approximately ten rickshaws operate at any given time throughout the year, with the other fifteen rickshaw pullers visiting from rural areas during the vacation periods of March, July and December. As indicated the pullers enjoy very little support from local ‘Durbanites’ or the Durban Beachfront Hotels and so are largely reliant on footfall brought about through the ‘Kingdom of Zulu’ marketing approach.

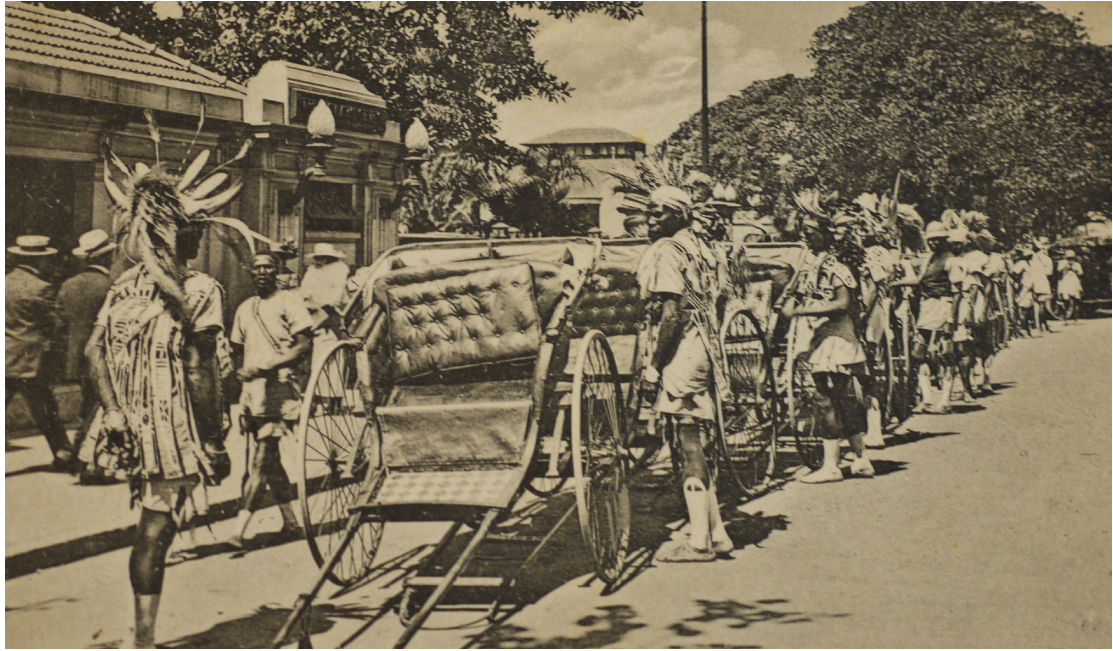


Figure 6: The Rickshaw became Durban's main mode of transportation, both in the city centre and docks. Courtesy of Campbell collections, UKZN, Durban 2015



Figure 7: (left) The lure was also in its precarious nature, with pullers rising and falling as they moved through Durban's streets. Courtesy of Campbell collections, UKZN, Durban 2015;

Figure 8: (Right): A modified so-called, 'Kitchen Boy suit' originally designed for male domestic workers. Courtesy of Campbell collections, UKZN, Durban 2015.

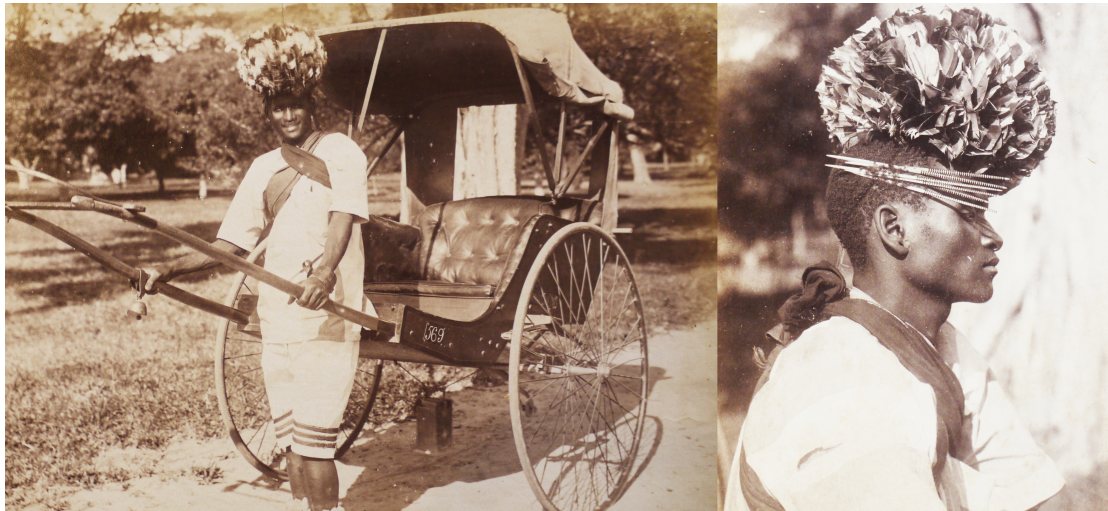


Figure 9: Left: Rickshaw Puller showing traditional dress including *Yaya* or tufted ostrich feather headdress. Photo: Courtesy of Campbell Collections, UKZN, Durban 2015. (Centre and Right) The pullers dressed themselves with culturally inspired headdresses, often from Ostrich feathers. Photos: Courtesy of Campbell Collections, UKZN, Durban 2015.



Figure 10: The men began to use Porcupine quills. Horns and feathers became a part of the rickshaw pullers attire. Above (left), a traditional Zulu beaded sash was added to the man's chest. Both men wear *isiqaza* – traditional Zulu earplugs. Photo: Courtesy Campbell Collections UKZN. 2015.

Figure 11: (right) By 1900, Domestic or privately-owned rickshaws also frequented Durban's streets. Photo: Courtesy Campbell Collections UKZN. 2015.

Diversification in the details

An apparent answer to this micro-economic/visual dichotomy emerges in the very nature of particular individual rickshaw puller outfits (Fig. 3 & 4). My education as a Graphic Designer has facilitated my identification and categorisation of patterns of visual continuity in beadwork - through the frequency and sequence of colours used or through the common use of design motifs. When looking past the multi-colouredness of the Durban beachfront visual insights were revealed when analysing the pullers' aprons.

The blue, white, green, red and black beadwork (Fig. 3) specifically relates to that of the Usuthu polity at Nongoma, in the Northern KwaZulu-Natal region. Another colour sequence of red, green, white and black (Fig. 4) denotes the Mandlakazi polity also situated at Nongoma. According to a rickshaw puller (name withheld at request) whom I interviewed in 2012, the remaining pullers on Durban's beachfront are actually descended from the original rickshaw pullers who came to Durban from KwaNongoma, a region situated in central Zululand, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. More specifically still, the men also hail from two *izigodi* (districts or social polities). While they see themselves as 'Zulu' the pullers beadwork confirms their expressed socio-political allegiance to their individual regional groupings through the wearing of representative beadwork systems (Fig. 3 & 4)

Inspired by this insight, and in an attempt to verify if beadwork continued to fulfil a role as a means of denoting regional allegiances, I decided to travel to a rural area significantly distanced from urban/tourist influences. I selected the town of Weenen, in the Msinga area of KwaZulu-Natal, well documented as a beadworking research site, in an attempt to observe groups who may still be wearing and making beadwork.

After interviewing beadworkers and those using and wearing traditional beadwork of the amaChunu and amaTembu regional groupings⁶⁶, unravelling loyalties to the Zulu were expressed. Responses included 'this beadwork is Zulu and Chunu'; 'Zulus wear beadwork like those from the Nongoma region, different from the beadwork of Msinga'; 'this beadwork means I am Thembu, but my husband is Zulu'.



Figure 12: The Reed Dance or *Umkosi woMhlanga* at Enyokeni in the KwaZulu Region Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2011.

The homologous link of beadwork with the 'Zulu' label was affirmed in a visit to the 2011 Reed Dance or *Umkosi woMhlanga* at Enyokeni, near Ulundi in the KwaZulu region of KZN province. At this event, some 30 000 virgin female reed-bearers (see Fig. 12) were each adorned in beadwork comprised of a

specific design and colour palette denoting the various groupings or regions in KwaZulu-Natal. Dance, song, and beadwork systems appeared to denote distinct group commonalities. Discussions, after the procession, with reed-bearers revealed that they believed they were wearing Zulu beadwork, but simultaneously indicated that their beadwork denoted a region or grouping. Thus the value of beadwork, to simultaneously represent both commonalities *and* difference was evident.

Beadwork as Representation

Thus for tourists beadwork remains perceptively 'Zulu', sustained through an ongoing marketing narrative. Conversely, for many beadworkers, 'Zulu' is the name used to describe beadwork to tourists. For others, in KwaZulu-Natal, the term represents a history of hegemony and obscured identities. The symbolic nature of beadwork reflects aspects of this identity dichotomy.

Much scholarship on traditional Southern Nguni beadwork from South-East Africa argues that beadwork is more than mere adornment ⁶⁷, considering that the combinations of pattern, design and colour facilitate a means with which to connote and denote meaning for the wearer and viewer.

Thus, authors acknowledge that beadwork 'flags difference - like tartans of Scottish clans' ⁶⁸. A belt or apron can, through its color, design and pattern, denote information about the wearer's political status and membership ⁶⁹. Although beadwork can indicate ethnic or regional roots, these identities have not always been fixed, people were 'uprooted, often within their histories' ⁷⁰. Scholars, therefore, appear to favour the term 'style' ⁷¹ or 'design' ⁷² to indicate that colour palettes; methods of making; manner of wearing, and pattern were continually being renegotiated.

Under the apartheid system in the late 1940s isiZulu speaking people were required to live in set aside 'homelands'. Here people came under the control of traditionalist leaders, subordinate to the government. This move 'inflamed old divisions' and created new splinter groups and new beadwork styles ⁷³.

In these respective ways, beadwork has been implicated within the conflicted social geographies and history of the KZN region, and its beadwork systems conflated into a multi-colouredness or 'local colour' during the 1950s under the influence of tourism officials. The image in Figure 14 is indicative of this. Analysis of this image revealed that the pullers is in fact wearing beadwork styles from various regions not only his own area of origin.

Since the 1930s various discrete styles emerged in the region ⁷⁴ as follows: the Eshowe Style (characterised by its bars of red, yellow, royal blue and green on a mostly white field); the Ndwedwe Style (a multi-coloured colour dotting style, on a black field); the Southern Natal Style (very similar to the dotting at Ndwedwe, but in smaller glass beads, often bearing single phrases, or fir tree motifs); the Maphumulo/Mvoti Style (lace-like technique, in a triangular, striped or checked motif in green, black, navy, royal blue and accented in orange or pink, on a white field); the Msinga style (comprised of localized styles including the seven-colour Isishunka Style, the newer Umzansi Style (navy, green, white, opaque red), the multi-coloured Msinga Insinyolovane Style (including yellow); the Isilomi Style (navy, turquoise, sap green, white, opaque red, and black); the isiPhalafini Style (which omitted the turquoise), along with the Msinga Isimodeni Style (known for its key-like jagged design and large

letterforms, often in orange, black and green). Further, regional styles include the Nongoma style (a mixture of diamonds and triangles, commonly identified in red, green, black and white, but which occurs in other colour sequences denoting the region's districts); and the Escort Style (characterized by distinct strips bearing pictorial subject matter, seen in *izibheklane* or capes, in red, green, orange and blue surrounded by complex white beaded surrounds). To these, adds a Drakensburg Style is later added ⁷⁵, very similar to the Escort Style (but which appears to replace red with pink and makes use of borders of turquoise and long tassled details); and finally a Bhaca Style (from the Richmond area. This style is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study).

These styles continue to 'reflect the importance of local identities, and symbolically function as a reminder to the Zulu king' that as independent identities, they could break away if they felt the need ⁷⁶. Beadwork can, therefore, be seen as 'complicit' in recasting social geographies, particularly in post-apartheid South Africa, where new-found freedoms and the influences of modernity have reconfigured the role of this craft -as a colourful anomaly, called *isimodeni* - seen as 'Zulu' beadwork by tourists and a new form of 'Zulu' fashion⁷⁷.

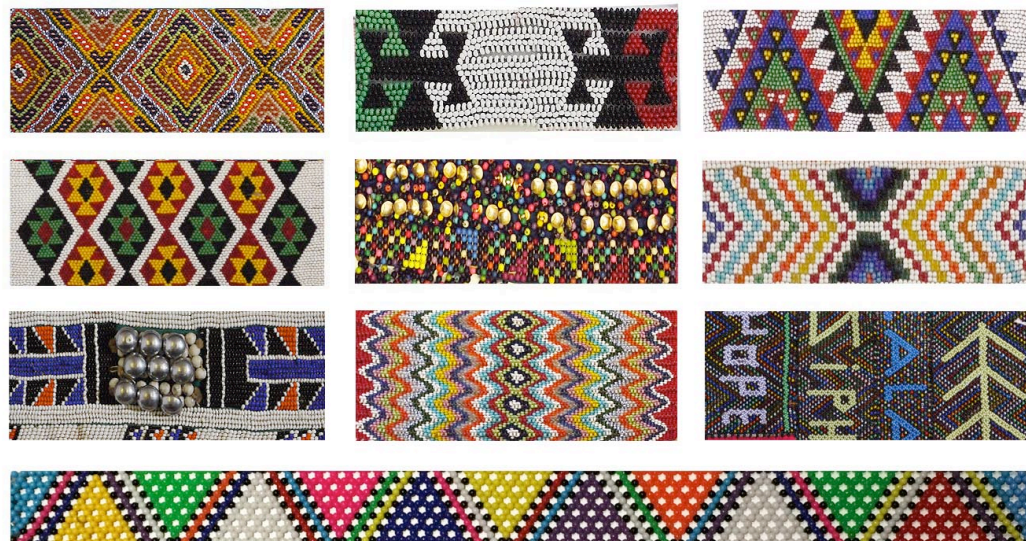


Figure 13: Top and Middle: Various examples of regional styles distinctly different from the Isimodeni Style (bottom). Styles reproduced with kind permission from Phansi Museum. Photos: Rowan Gatfield.



Figure 14: (Left) Winner of the 1950 Durban Parade. Protea Colour Prints. (Right) Stylistic rendering of patterns used in headdress and costume of rickshaw puller on the left. The patterns draw on northern KZN beadwork (from top to bottom): from Maphumulo/Umvoti; the Nongoma districts of Mandlakazi; Mahlabatini; Pongola; Ceza; and Usuthu. Illustrations: Rowan Gatfield.

Conclusions and the way forward: The Rickshaw Renovation Project

As Archbishop Desmond Tutu envisioned in 1994, South Africa could be a ‘Rainbow Nation’⁷⁸ a unity of multi-culturalism from many different nations, in a country historically defined by its division of white and black. Accurately, it is its multi-colouredness that is its most distinctive quality, but maybe many more colours than was generally understood. And like skin colour, beadwork systems need freedom to ‘co-exist’ and the freedom to liberate people from poverty.

Thus, given the social and economic situation of the rickshaw pullers in Durban, the study turned to examine if the denotative quality of beadwork could be utilised as a means to diversify the ‘Zulu’ brand offering ,thereby attempting to confront poverty and Durban’s saturated beachfront marketplace, for the pullers and beadworkers. The need to diversify the offering has not been previously recognised as an obvious solution and this, in turn, has arguably perpetuated the ‘generic’ nature of the ‘Zulu’ brand approach.

Based on this premise, between 2011 and 2014, I completed an extensive PhD study⁷⁹ into the lineage, legacy and beadwork of the Nyuswa (known as the *isinyolovane* (mixed colour) Style), worn by many who bear the surname Ngcobo, and the names of its subsidiaries. What was established here was that a verifiable oral record and beadwork system could be attributed to a lineage, which potentially represents the two ingredients necessary for building brand equity and the basis for a brand diversification strategy in the Durban Tourism sector, namely an alternative legacy and distinctive

visual system. In this way it emerged that the brand equity surrounding the ‘Kingdom of the Zulu’ strategy could thus be broadened to encompass other forms of ethnic tourism and therefore, represent a propensity to alleviate poverty ‘on the ground’.

In lieu of such potential, a collaborative effort between the Durban Rickshaw Pullers Association; students and staff of Workspace (a Work Integrated Learning (WIL) unit at the Department of Visual Communication Design, of Durban University of Technology, overseen by myself); the Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit of eThekweni Municipality, alongside various sponsors ensued, in which two Durban rickshaws and puller’s outfits were renovated. Through numerous consultations with the Durban Rickshaw pullers Association (Fig.19) it was established that this renovation process would commence with one of their beadwork systems (representing the Mandlakazi grouping residing in Northern KwaZulu region) and that this could later be extended to represent their other regional beadwork system (the Usuthu grouping from the same region). It was then decided at the meeting that other visual systems from the other regions could also be included to better diversify the rickshaw offer (particularly in offering variation for photographic ‘product for sale’). This in turn could be underpinned by various oral histories surrounding these visual systems, and thus diversify the Zulu brand and its tourism narrative offering for international and domestic tourism and its related industries.



Figure 15: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Mahlabatini region near Nongoma. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2012. Below: Design for new rickshaw based on the beadwork of the polity at Mahlabatini, KwaZulu Region. Designed by Nonzuzo Nzimande. Courtesy of Durban University of Technology 2011.

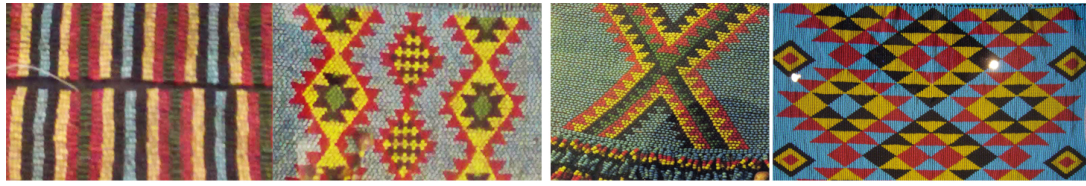


Figure 16: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Ceza region in Eastern Zululand. Phansi Museum, Durban. Courtesy of Phansi Museum, Glenwood, Durban. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2012. Below: Design for new rickshaw based on the beadwork of the polity at Ceza, KwaZulu Region. Designed by Wendy Yang. Courtesy of Durban University of Technology 2011.



Figure 17: Examples of a colour convention found in beadwork from the Pongola region in Northern Zululand. Dated as 1972. Courtesy of Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2012. Below: Design for new rickshaw based on the beadwork of the polity at Pongola, KwaZulu Region. Designed by Yoshen Nair. Courtesy of Durban University of Technology 2011.



Figure 18: Design for new rickshaw based on the beadwork of the Mandlakazi polity at Nongoma. Designed by Noluthando Mchunu. Courtesy of Durban University of Technology 2011.



Figure 19: The consultation and restoration process with the Durban rickshaw pullers. Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2011.



Figure 20: William Sibiya, with the newly renovated Rickshaw, costume and headdress.

Courtesy: William Sibiya Photo: Rowan Gatfield 2012.



Figure 21: Top: Beadwork of the amaChunu at Weenen . Photos: Rowan Gatfield.

Below: Design for the 'amaChunu Rickshaw', based on beadwork from that polity found living at Msinga. Designed by Rowan Gatfield. 2012.



Figure 22: Lawrence Khoza, with the newly renovated 'Msinga Rickshaw', costume and headdress, based on the beadwork of the amaChunu. Photo: Mdu Khumalo 2013.

Students at Workspace were thus required to identify and recreate regional beadwork systems/styles (some examples in Fig. 15, 16, 17, and 18) in a manner that accurately replicated these design systems (comprised of distinct forms and limited colour palettes) into the new outfit and cart designs. The first rickshaw cart and outfit renovation (Fig. 20) was completed in 2012 based on the Mandlakazi *isigodi* (district) situated at Nongoma. Funding was sought over a two-year period.

In response NPC Cimpor, Plascon Paints, Royal Adhesive Industries, Component Wholesalers, Universal Bolt and Nut, Dunlop Industrial and Sportsman's Warehouse made various contributions in cash or in kind. A process of design development with the rickshaw's puller William Sibiya, a third-generation rickshaw owner from the Mandlakazi *isigodi* at Nongoma ensued. A second rickshaw based on the beadwork conventions of the AmaChunu at Msinga (Fig. 22) was then completed. Speculative designs were also prepared based on the beadwork of the Ceza region in central Zululand (Fig. 16), the AmaNgwanya at Bergville, those of the KwaNyuswa region in Bothas Hill near Durban, styles from the Mahlabatini region in central Zululand (Fig 15), Pongola in Northern Zululand (Fig. 17), and those of the iPhalafini region at Msinga. Consequently, as a result of this intervention and the support from Hoteliers, Sibiya noted a marked improvement in business between 2012 and 2013, noting that the Easter and Christmas breaks had been particularly successful. Overall it is estimated that his annual income improved (Gatfield 2014).

The arguments surrounding the ethics of confronting poverty within a dynamic developing society are complex. Within South African society it is most apparent that a micro-economic venture that aims to

‘develop’ people is sure to fail if those involved do not want developing. The power of what is proposed, in this paper, points to ‘visual style’ as the capital upon which a bottom-up strategy might gain a footing in a collaborative and negotiated fight against poverty. The intention is in no way to further segregate people through these apparent identities but merely to diversify the tourism offering, under the ‘Zulu Kingdom, Exceptional’ branding. The Rickshaw Renovation Project is a minute illustration of what could be if those linked to unknown ethnic visual systems are facilitated through brand diversification, without fear of recourse. This diversification principle was explored in 2014, through various product prototyping, and has shown real promise (Fig. 23).



Figure 23: Staff of Workspace examining product prototypes developed by beadworkers from Msinga (Photo R Gatfield 2014).

Recent interviews conducted with rickshaw pullers, indicate that a renewed optimism now prevails amongst the men. Lawrence Khoza, (Fig. 22) the second recipient to have his rickshaw renovated exclaimed in 2012:

I see William Sibiya now walks with dignity.

Since the inception of the project Sibiya has purchased a pair of *imbathatha*, traditional Zulu sandals, traditional sheepskin leggings, a traditional Zulu whistle for attracting customers. These small acts of personal investment in the project, as well as his attentive participation in the restoration of his rickshaw, speaks of an indication that this project may have facilitated forms of catharsis, the dynamics of which remain to be seen.

References

- ¹ Nel, E. 'South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change', *African Affairs*, (112) 446, 2012, pp. 165–167.
- ² Statistics South Africa. 'Poverty trends in South Africa: An Examination of Absolute Poverty between 2006 and 2016', 2017, p. 58
- ³ Gatfield, R. 'Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity: An Analysis of Beadwork Conventions as the Basis for Craft Economies in KwaZulu-Natal, with Specific Emphasis on the Beadwork of amaNyuswa. Doctoral dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban' 2014, p. 5.
- ⁴ Airports Company South Africa, October 2019, http://www.airports.co.za/Documents/KSIA_Passenger_Traffic_September_2019.pdf (accessed 4 November 2019)
- ⁵ Statistics South Africa. 'Statistical Release P0352.1: Domestic Tourism Survey', 2018, p. 13.
- ⁶ Hamilton C. 'The Real Goat: Identity and Authenticity in Shakaland', *Wits History Workshop: Myths, Monuments, Museums; New Premises?* Johannesburg, 16-18 July, 1992; University of the Witwatersrand, 1992, pp. 1- 2
- ⁷ Nkosi, G. 'Tourism destination competitiveness using brand essence: Incorporating the "zuluness" of the Zulu Kingdom', *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 6 (1), 2017, p.3.
- ⁸ Safari 365, 'Visit KwaZulu Natal's Battlefields & The Zulu Kingdom', <https://www.safari365.com/travel-destinations/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/zulu-kingdom> (accessed 4 November 2019)
- ⁹ Comaroff, J.L. and Comaroff, J. *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: University of Chicago) Press, p. 1.
- ¹⁰ Lexico Dictionaries, English. Definition of Ethnicity by Lexico. <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/ethnicity> (Accessed 4 Nov. 2019).
- ¹¹ Comaroff, et al. 'Ethnicity, Inc', p. 139.
- ¹² Comaroff, et al. 'Ethnicity, Inc', p. 140.
- ¹³ Unwto.org. Tourism and Poverty Alleviation | Tourism and Poverty Alleviation <https://step.unwto.org/content/tourism-and-poverty-alleviation-1> (accessed 18 November 2019).
- ¹⁴ KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, *Annual Report 2018/ 2019*, pp. 29
- ¹⁵ Nkosi, 'Tourism destination competitiveness using brand essence' p.1.
- ¹⁶ Van Wyk, G. 'Illuminated signs: Style and meaning in the beadwork of the Xhosa-and Zulu-speaking peoples,' *African Arts*, 36 (3), 2003, pp 93-94; Wright J. Reflections on the politics of being Zulu, *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole, eds., (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008a), pp.35-43.
- ¹⁷ Beaven, B., K. Bell, and R. James. *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront c.1700–2000*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p 202.
- ¹⁸ Beaven et al. *Port Towns and Urban Cultures*, p 217.
- ¹⁹ Mahoney, M. *The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa* (Durham: Duke, University Press, 2012), p. 1.
- ²⁰ Mahoney, *The Other Zulus*, p133.
- ²¹ Bickford-Smith, V. *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) pp.216-217.
- ²² Maharaj, B., Pillay, V. and Sucheran, R. (2008). 'Durban - A subtropical coastal paradise? Tourism dynamics in a post-apartheid city'. *Études caribéennes*, 17 (3), pp. 266.
- ²³ Laband, J. 'Bloodstained Grandeur', *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008), p.16.
- ²⁴ Hamilton, 'The Real Goat: Identity and Authenticity in Shakaland', p.11.
- ²⁵ Boonzaier, E. and J. Sharp, *South African Keywords : the Uses & Abuses of Political Concepts* (Cape Town: Philip, 1988), p 68.
- ²⁶ Hamilton, 'The Real Goat: Identity and Authenticity in Shakaland', p.12.

- ²⁷ Gatfield, R. 'The isimodeni style: traditional beadwork, Zulu trinket or South African sartorial tradition on Durban's Golden Mile?' *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 42(2), 2018, pp.127–148.
- ²⁸ Gatfield, R. 'Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity: An Analysis of Beadwork Conventions as the Basis for Craft Economies in KwaZulu-Natal, with Specific Emphasis on the Beadwork of amaNyuswa. (PhD, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban', 2014) Unpublished thesis.
- ²⁹ Klopper, S. 'He is my king, but he is also my child: Inkatha, the African National Congress and the Struggle for Control over Zulu Cultural Symbols'. *Oxford Art Journal*, 19(1), p. 55; Buthelezi, M. 'The Empire Talks Back: Re-examining the Legacies of Shaka and Zulu Power in Post-apartheid South Africa', *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008), p. 24; Wylie, D. 2011. *Shaka* (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2011, 94); Mahoney, *The Other Zulus*, p. 217.
- ³⁰ Mahoney, *The Other Zulus*, p. 217; Martens, J. 2008. 'Enlightenment Theories of Civilisation and Savagery in British Natal', *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008), p. 24.
- ³¹ Martens, J. 'Enlightenment Theories of Civilisation and Savagery in British Natal', *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008), pp. 130.
- ³² Klopper, 'He is my king, but he is also my child', pp. 53-66.
- ³³ Nkosi, 'Tourism destination competitiveness using brand essence', p.3.
- ³⁴ KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, *Annual Report 2018/2019*, p. 29
- ³⁵ Cardona, A.R., Sun, Q., Li, F. and White, D. 'Assessing the Effect of Personal Cultural Orientation on Brand Equity and Revisit Intention: Exploring Destination Branding in Latin America'. *Journal of Global Marketing*, 2017, 30(5), p. 283.
- ³⁶ Comaroff, et al. *Ethnicity, Inc*, p. 12
- ³⁷ Urry, J. *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002)
- ³⁸ Pink, S. *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*, (London: Routledge, 2004), p.47.
- ³⁹ Urry, J. *The Tourist Gaze*, pp. 59-60.
- ⁴⁰ Gatfield, R. 'Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity', p. 56.
- ⁴¹ SA-venues.com. 'Rickshaw Ride along the Beachfront in Durban Beachfront', <https://www.sa-venues.com/things-to-do/kwazulunatal/rickshaw-ride-along-the-beachfront>, (accessed 28 Oct. 2019).
- ⁴² uShaka Marine World - KZN Brand DNA. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SRV3mQnNWtw&t=219s>, May 2019, [Accessed 11 Nov. 2019].
- ⁴³ Gatfield, R. 'The Isimodeni Style' p.131
- ⁴⁴ Gatfield, R. 'The Isimodeni Style' p.140
- ⁴⁵ Zulu.org.za. *Kwazulu-Natal Tourism Product Development Strategy*. <https://www.zulu.org.za/archive/kwazulu-natal-tourism-product-development-strategy-F58007>, 2014, [Accessed 11 Nov. 2019].
- ⁴⁶ Moreno, J. and Ann Littrell, M. Negotiating tradition. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2001, 28(3), p.683
- ⁴⁷ Baum, T., Jolliffe, L., & Cave, J. 'Theorising Tourism and Souvenirs, Glocal Perspectives on the Margins in *Tourism and Souvenirs : Glocal Perspectives From the Margins*. (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2013), p 5.
- ⁴⁸ *Durban*. (Cape Town: C. Struik. 1977)
- ⁴⁹ Urry, J. *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002)
- ⁵⁰ Hamburg, E. *From Rickshaws to Zulus, Durban exudes a strange charm*. (Accessed 11 November 2017). <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:HNFI1Iyu6eOsJ:https://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/fl-xpm-2004-10-17-0410120342-story.html+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk>
- ⁵¹ Geens, Emily. 'The History of the Rickshaw – Exploitation or Tradition?' <http://newhistories.group.shf.ac.uk/wordpress/wordpress/?p=2135> [Accessed 17 August 2012].
- During the mid 1800s, 'a European missionary, whom was visiting Japan, needed to transport his invalid wife through the bustling streets of Yokohama'. The first rickshaw was thus invented, but only reached South African shores some thirty years later. Little is written on what motivated Marshall Campbell to purchase the vehicles. However, it seems evident, from examples of these

early vehicles, still on display at Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, that these carts were not fitted, from the outset, to be drawn by animals or by a motorized source.

⁵² Brown K.H, 'From Transportation to Tourism: The Durban Ricksha Puller and His Dress'. Presented at *South African Association of Art Historians*, Durban, July 1989. p.1

⁵³ Brown, 'From Transportation to Tourism' p.1

⁵⁵ Berglund, Axel-Ivar.. *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), p. 17.

⁵⁶ Klopper, S.. 'Forging Identities in an Uncertain World: Changing Notions of Self and Other in Early Colonial Natal.' In *Tribing and Untribing the Archive: Identity and the Material Record in Southern KwaZulu-Natal in the Late Independent and Colonial Periods*, edited by C. Hamilton, and N. Leibhammer, 2, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2016), p. 351

⁵⁷ Posel, Roselyn 'Amahashi: Durban's Ricksha Pullers' *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 13 (1), p. 202

⁵⁸ Brown, 'From Transportation to Tourism' p.2

⁵⁹ Brown, 'From Transportation to Tourism' p.3

⁶⁰ 'Yaya' or ostrich feathers or isidlukula. – a bunch of feathers worn on the head.

⁶¹ Zulu Ricksha, 1892-2000, Power Carriages of the Mandlakazi Clan: History of the Evolution of the Durban, South Africa, Zulu rickshaw driver, 2000, <http://www.ezakwantu.com/Gallery%20Zulu%Ricksha.htm> (accessed 14 February 2014)

⁶² Hughes, H. 'Struggling for a Day in the Sun: The Emergence of Beach Culture among African People in Durban.' In *Art and Identity at the Water's Edge*, edited by T. Cusack, (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 151.

⁶³ Posel, 'Amahashi: Durban's Ricksha Pullers', p. 214.

⁶⁴ Randafricanart.com. (2019). Rand African Art. <http://www.randafricanart.com/index1.html> (Accessed 11 Nov. 2014).

⁶⁵ Zulu Ricksha, 1892-2000, Power Carriages of the Mandlakazi Clan: History of the Evolution of the Durban, South Africa, Zulu rickshaw driver, 2000, <http://www.ezakwantu.com/Gallery%20Zulu%Ricksha.htm> (accessed 15 February 2014)

⁶⁶ These two main polities are led by two separate chiefs, or amakosi, respectively. These two groups, like the Mandlakazi and Usuthu polities are also recognised by the South African Government as two separate tribal authorities.

⁶⁷ Tyrell, B. 'Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa' (Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1968).

Wickler, W. and U. Seibt, 'Studies in Bantu Peoples Bead-Language: A Special Colour Convention from Msinga District (Natal, South Africa)' *Baessler Archiv Neue Folge*, 37, 1989, pp. 391-405.

Jolles, F. 'Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area', *African Arts*, 26 (1), 1993, pp. 42-102.

Morris, J., and E. Preston-Whyte 1994. *Speaking with Beads: Zulu Arts from Southern Africa*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Klopper, S., 'He is My King, but He is Also my Child': Inkatha, the African National Congress and the Struggle for Control over Zulu Cultural Symbols' *Oxford Art Journal* 19 (1), 1996, pp. 53-66.

Stevenson, M., and M. Graham-Stewart, *South East African Beadwork, 1850-1910: From Adornment to Artefact to Art* (Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 2000).

Van Wyk, G. 'Illuminated Signs: Style and Meaning in the Beadwork of the Xhosa- and Zulu-Speaking Peoples' *African Arts*, 36 (3), 2003, pp.12-94.

Boram-Hays, C., 'Borders of Beads: Questions of Identity in the Beadwork of the Zulu-Speaking People' *African Arts* 38 (2), 2005, pp. 38-93.

Wells, K., 'Manipulating Metaphors: An Analysis of Beadwork Craft as a Contemporary Medium for Communicating on AIDS and Culture in KwaZulu-Natal' (PhD, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2006.) Unpublished thesis.

Winters, Y. The Secret Language of Zulu Bead Language and Proportion and Balance of Zulu Headrest, Isiqiki." In *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by B. Carton, J. Laband, and J. Sithole, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008), pp. 418-423

Gatfield, 'Beadwork Identity as Brand Equity'.

Preston-Whyte, R. 'Constructed Leisure Space: The Seaside at Durban' *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (3), 200, pp. 581–596.

⁶⁸ Van Wyk, 'Illuminated Signs' p.14.

⁶⁹ Wickler, W. and U. Seibt, 'Studies in Bantu Peoples Bead-Language', p. 391

⁷⁰ Van Wyk, 'Illuminated Signs' p.14.

⁷¹ Jolles, 'Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area' p. 42

Van Wyk, 'Illuminated Signs' p.25.

Boram-Hays, 'Borders of Beads' p. 40.

⁷² Dube, *Zulu Beadwork*, p. 33

⁷³ Boram-Hays, 'Borders of Beads' pp. 41.

⁷⁴ Jolles, 'Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area' p. 42

Van Wyk, 'Illuminated Signs' p.25.

Boram-Hays, 'Borders of Beads' p. 40.

⁷⁵ Van Wyk, 'Illuminated Signs' p.26.

⁷⁶ Boram-Hays, 'Borders of Beads' p. 41.

⁷⁷ Gatfield, R. 'Beadwork as Brand Equity' p.303

⁷⁸ Tutu, D. *The Rainbow People of God: A Spiritual Journey from Apartheid to Freedom* (London: Doubleday, 1994)

⁷⁹ Gatfield, R. 'Beadwork as Brand Equity'